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SP-02 SS-15 SSM-03 SAJ-01 ACDA-07 /110 W
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O R 291730Z NOV 76
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3652
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
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AMEMBASSY LONDON
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AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY MADRID
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AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
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AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE

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USMISSION GENEVA
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AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
USMISSION USBERLIN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 20085

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, XT, FR, XF, GW, IS.
SUBJECT: MIDDLE EAST RESOLUTION AT SOCIALIST
INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS (SIC) -- GENEVA,
NOVEMBER 26-28

BEGIN SUMMARY: THIS CABLE TRANSMITS MIDDLE EAST RESOLUTION PASSED BY SIC AND OFFERS SOME BACKGROUND ON THE ISSUES INVOLVED. END SUMMARY.

1. LONDON, 1975: IN PREPARING FOR THE SIC, THE FRENCH (PS) AND GERMAN (SPD) SOCIALIST PARTIES BOTH PREPARED DRAFT RESOLUTIONS WHICH WERE DESIGNED TO GIVE THE EXECUTIVE BUREAU OF THE SI, MEETING IN LONDON IN NOVEMBER, 1975, A SET OF OPTIONS RANGING FROM A DECLARATION BASED STRICTLY ON UN RESOLUTION 242 UP TO AND INCLUDING ONE PROPOSING A NEW-STYLE GENEVA CONFERENCE IN WHICH THE PLO WOULD BE A DIRECT PARTICIPANT. THIS LATTER "INVITATION TO DISASTER UNQUOTE, AS ONE ISRAELI DELEGATE TO THE SIC CALLED IT, WAS TURNED DOWN BY THE SPD AND BY THE AUSTRIANS.

2. THE "JORDANIAN OPTION": AT SOME POINT DURING DECEMBER, 1975, MITTERRAND AND RABIN EITHER SPOKE OR EXCHANGED LETTERS IN WHICH RABIN INDICATED THAT:

-- HE WOULD NOT BE OPPOSED TO PLO PARTICIPATION IN FUTURE GENEVA TALKS IF REPEAT IF THE PLO

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WERE FITTED INTO A NATIONAL DELEGATION. HE AND MITTERRAND AGREED THAT THE MOST OBVIOUS PLACE FOR SUCH A PLO GROUP WOULD BE WITHIN THE JORDANIAN DELEGATION. PLEASE NOTE THAT THIS INFORMATION, HOWEVER MUCH IT MAY SEEM TO RUN COUNTER TO CERTAIN MIDDLE EAST REALITIES, HAS BEEN CONFIRMED BY MITTERRAND AND PS INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS SECRETARY PONTILLON (SPEAKING TO PARIS

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EMBOFF), AND BY FLORA LEWIS (NEW YORK TIMES)
AFTER AN INTERVIEW WITH RABIN. PLEASE PROTECT
ALL REPEAT ALL SOURCES.

-- HE AND HIS PARTY COULD LIVE WITH AN SI
RESOLUTION CALLING FOR A SOLUTION BASED ON
UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338.

3. THE PS -- DECLINING INTEREST IN ISRAEL? DURING
THE TIME BETWEEN THE LONDON MEETING AND THE SIC A PS
DELEGATION HEADED BY MITTERRAND VISITED ISRAEL. PS
DEPUTY AND NATIONAL SECRETARY JEAN POPEREN SAID THAT
MITTERRAND HAD DEVOTED A MAJOR PART OF HIS STAY IN
ISRAEL IN AN ATTEMPT TO FIND OUT EXACTLY HOW THE
ISRAELIS SAW RESOLUTION 242 -- WITH ITS MENTION OF
1967 BORDERS -- AS A POSSIBLE BASE FOR FUTURE
NEGOTIATIONS. RABIN, WHO POPEREN DESCRIBED AS "EVASIVE
IN OUR CONVERSATIONS IN ISRAEL AND TOUGHER, BUT EQUALLY
EVASIVE, IN CONVERSATIONS AT THE SIC", GAVE NO HINT OF
ANY SUCH FUZZINESS IN HIS SPEECH TO THE SIC.

4. RABIN -- TALKING TOUGH TO THE SIC: SPEAKING AT
THE SIC'S SESSION ON "HELSINKI -- WHAT NEXT?", RABIN
CALLED FOR A CSCE ON THE MIDDLE EAST. HE MADE A

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PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SAJ-01 ACDA-07 /110 W
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O R 291730Z NOV 76
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3653
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 BONN 20085

CRITICAL REFERENCE TO THE KREISKY MISSION TO THE ARAB COUNTRIES AND RENEWED ISRAEL'S OFFER TO RETURN TERRITORY IN EXCHANGE FOR A PEACE TREATY "SHORT OF AGAIN SQUANDERING AWAY VITAL SECURITY AND DEFENSE." WHILE HIS REFERENCE TO THE PRINCIPLE DETERMINING ATTENDANCE AT HELSINKI ("THE HEADS OF THE SOVEREIGN GOVERNMENTS OF THE REGION, IN ADDITION TO THE TWO

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MAJOR PARTIES") WOULD SEEM TO RULE OUT ACCEPTANCE OF DIRECT PLO PARTICIPATION IN A NEW CONFERENCE, RABIN MAY FEEL THAT HE HAD ALREADY SHOWN MITTERRAND AND THE SI A CONCESSION WHICH THEY COULD OFFER UP TO THEIR OWN PARTIES AS A KIND OF EARNEST MONEY TO PROVE ISRAEL'S GOOD INTENTIONS. FINALLY, BY INVOKING CSCE, A SACRED COW TO MANY DELEGATIONS, AS THE ISRAELI MODEL FOR A MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT, RABIN MADE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR HIS OPPONENTS TO TAKE ISSUE WITH HIS SPEECH.

5. REACTION ON THE LEFT: AS EXPECTED, THE SENEGALESE AND MALTESE DELEGATIONS, WHICH WOULD HAVE LIKED TO OFFER AMENDMENTS TO THE RESOLUTION, AGREED TO WITHHOLD THEIR AMENDMENTS AND EVEN AGREED TO VOTE FOR THE RESOLUTION (SEE BELOW), WHICH WAS A FRANCO-GERMAN-AUSTRIAN JOINT PRODUCT. BOTH DELEGATIONS, AS EXPECTED, EXPRESSED THEIR RESERVATIONS AT THE TIME OF THE VOTE -- THE RESOLUTION PASSED WITH ONLY THEIR TWO VOTES AGAINST, ALTHOUGH CURIOUS OBSERVERS COULD FIND NO ISRAELI ON THE FLOOR AT CONFIDENTIAL

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THE TIME OF THE VOTE -- BUT THE REAL SURPRISE WAS THE BLISTERING ATTACK DELIVERED ON THE RESOLUTION BY SENEGAL'S PRESIDENT SENGHOR. SPEAKING IN A HEATED AND IMPASSIONED MANNER WHICH CONTRASTED WITH HIS PREVIOUS ADDRESS TO THE SIC, SENGHOR CALLED THE RESOLUTION ILLEGITIMATE BECAUSE "IT DOES NOT PROVIDE A MECHANISM FOR THE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVES OF ISRAEL TO TALK DIRECTLY WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE." WHILE SENGHOR'S WORDS DID NOT GO BEYOND WHAT THE LEFT WINGS OF BOTH THE PS AND THE SPD HAVE BEEN SAYING FOR THE LAST FEW MONTHS, HIS TONE AND RHETORIC BROUGHT SUSTAINED APPLAUSE FROM SEVERAL DELEGATIONS WITH OBVIOUS INTERNAL PROBLEMS.

6. BEGIN TEXT:

RESOLUTION ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION

SECTION "A STILL-THREATENED WORLD"

A. THE CONTINUATION OF THE CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST ENDANGERS THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE NOT ONLY IN THAT REGION BUT IT ALSO THREATENS THE PROGRESS OF DETENTE BETWEEN THE EAST AND WEST. WHERE POSITIVE STEPS TOWARD PEACEFUL SOLUTION IS MADE (SIC), THE SOCIALIST INTER-NATIONAL EXPRESSES ITS SATISFACTION OVER THE DISENGAGE-MENT AGREEMENTS SIGNED BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT AND SYRIA, AND MOST PARTICULARLY THE INTERIM AGREEMENT CONCLUDED BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT ON SEPTEMBER 1, 1975.

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B. THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF ENSURING THAT A PEACE SETTLEMENT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS NEIGHBORING STATES BE BASED ON NEGOTIATIONS AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE PARTIES IN ACCORDANCE WITH SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338, AND NOT BE IMPOSED UPON THEM FROM OUTSIDE. IT CALLS, THEREFORE, FOR THE RECONVENING OF THE GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE ON THE BASIS OF THE TWO AFFOREMENTIONED RESOLUTIONS AND

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THE ORIGINAL LETTER OF INVITATION.

C. THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL ACKNOWLEDGES AND RESPECTS THE RIGHT OF ALL PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND TO LIVE IN PEACE WITHIN SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BOUNDARIES.

D. THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL, CONCERNED WITH THE ESCALATION OF THE ARMS RACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, CALLS UPON THE PARTIES CONCERNED TO START IMMEDIATE NEGOTIATIONS ON ARMS' (SIC) REDUCTION. END TEXT.

7. COMMENT:

ONE OF RABIN'S ASSISTANTS TOLD US THAT THE ISRAELIS WERE VERY PLEASED WITH THE RESOLUTION WHICH WAS BETTER THAN RABIN HAD HOPED FOR. IN A BACKGROUNDER WITH FLORA LEWIS OF THE "NEW YORK TIMES", RABIN SAID THAT HE BELIEVED THAT THE EGYPTIANS MAY HAVE MADE A TRADE-OFF WITH THE SYRIANS: IN EXCHANGE FOR EGYPTIAN ACQUIESCENCE FOR SYRIA MOVING INTO SOUTHERN LEBANON, THE SYRIANS WILL ACQUIESCE TO NEW EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI NEGOTIATIONS. AN ISRAELI DELEGATE SAID THAT HE WOULD

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NOT BE SURPRISED IF THE EGYPTIANS WERE INVITED TO THE
SI CONFERENCE IN VANCOUVER.
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To: STATE
Type: TE
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